1: Karsten--216-217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 834, 784 (1928-29)

"A married Jibaro man not only abstains from cohabiting with his [217] wife for instance when he is preparing his arrow-poison or making a shield or blowgun, after he has planted the narcotics natéma or maikoa, and when he is preparing for a great feast, but also on several other occasions. Thus at an advanced stage of pregnancy he generally abstains from cohabiting with his wife, lest the still unborn child may thereby be harmed. When the child is born he likewise abstains from sleeping with the mother for some time--in most cases, I believe, as long as the child is suckled--nor can he have sexual relations with any other woman. This would have harmful effects upon the newborn child so that it might die. The father's continence in this case is closely connected with the rules of diet he has to observe for some time after his child is born, and which will be described in the next chapter. Similarly, as we shall soon see, a Jibaro has strictly to observe sexual abstinence for a long time after he has killed an enemy, and for some days after a death has occurred. A Canelos Indian likewise has to observe sexual abstinence on many occasions, among other things during the wedding-night itself, as we have just seen."

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
(237) shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of
European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[834] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[144] tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must
always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must

practice the use of weapons, live for
battle and the hunt.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776
756 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
778 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
823 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken
776 *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are
276 contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

• [834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.
754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaučī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peŋer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunčī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of